

# PEACE NEWS

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## MUST Victory go to the GOOD?

by JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

THESE are grim times to be alive. Men need some consolation. The danger is that they expect to have their consolation on the cheap. They want to be assured that their cause will prevail in the way they want it to prevail. At present, it shows little sign of prevailing. So they desire the more to be assured that it will finally prevail, but always in the way that they desire it should prevail: by a military victory over Germany.

To use the phrase of St. Paul which used to be familiar in the seventeenth century, but which has dropped out of currency since, men are very "carnal-minded." It is the sign of the carnal mind, the mind according to the flesh, that it naturally and unhesitatingly expects that God will endorse and gratify its own desires. Nowadays, the great majority of men leave God out of the reckoning altogether; and they simply expect that the scheme of things is such that our just desires should be gratified.

We as a nation have no doubt that our passionate conviction of our moral superiority over Germany gives us the right to expect a military victory over Germany. I wonder whether the French had the same belief. If they held it, I imagine that they did not hold it with the same naive confidence as we. They are more realistic in their attitude to life. They have known, twice within the experience of a living man, what it is to be beaten by Germany. They have said to themselves: "We can put six million men into the field; but Germany can put twelve. It is not certain that we shall prevail."

But such calculations do not enter our heads. We have no experience of defeat in modern times. I remember a music-hall song in the days of the Boer War—that not very glorious victory—which ran thus:—

And when we say we've always won.  
And when they ask us how it's done.  
We'll proudly point to every one  
Of the soldiers of the Queen.

"We've always won"; and since we have also always imagined that our cause was just—even in the Boer War—our expectation of victory is strangely obdurate when there is some real moral superiority on our side, as there is in our war with Germany.

### GOODNESS AND SUCCESS

But is this expectation of victory for the better cause in accord with the larger human experience? Surely not. The wiser sort among us certainly do not feel that, in the case of individuals, goodness and righteousness are any guarantee of worldly success. The writer of the Book of Job did not think so.

But when it comes to nations, the attitude even of the wiser sort seems to change. We read back into history a morality which we dare not read into the life-histories of individual men. We always discover some sort of moral cause for the decline or defeat of a nation. Thus, France was defeated in the Napoleonic Wars because she had surrendered herself to the ambitions of Bonaparte; she was defeated again in 1871, because of the moral decadence of the Second Empire; to-day... we have not had time to discover the moral reason yet.

But we do not hunt for the moral reasons why John Keats was carried off by a galloping consumption, or Shelley's new boat capsized in a sudden squall.

Is there any good reason why our

attitude should change so much, when we consider the nation, from what it is when we consider the individual? Perhaps there is some. In the millions which compose a nation the accidents of the individual are discounted. The goodness which palpably does not always bring worldly success to the individual man may yet be efficacious in a nation at large. It may be so, indeed; but that is very different from asserting that it certainly is so. And the only way of testing the supposition would be to examine the history of a whole series of nations in decline or defeat, and to examine them without any prepossession in favour of the thesis.

### THE CHIEF CAUSE

If that were possible—and it is more difficult than it sounds—it is very doubtful whether a deficiency in anything we may fairly call morality or goodness would be discovered to be the cause of the decline or defeat of nations.

On the contrary, superior numbers have generally counted for much more in battle than superior morality; when the evidence permits a judgment between the two belligerents on that score. "God is on the side of the big battalions." Superior technique has always counted for more than superior morality. Only when numbers and equipment are roughly equal can we fairly say that moral qualities begin to be decisive.

And what we mean by "moral qualities" in this context is hardly the same as goodness. A critic without prepossessions might even hesitate to say whether Cromwell's Ironsides were morally superior to the Cavaliers they routed. Probably, they were; but to be quite positive about it involves a definite discrimination in favour of Puritanism over Anglicanism. Put the question in this form: was Milton really morally superior to Shakespeare? and the answer is doubtful.

No, no: there is no warrant for the belief that the good cause will prevail in war, even when there is some warrant for believing that the cause was relatively good. We are on safer ground as realists and as Christians when we pray that the good may prevail and refuse to identify it with the national cause. Good may be emerging somehow, somewhere in this time of the breaking of nations: but it is more likely to be evident in a conquered nation than in a conquering one.

### A VITAL NEED

SENDING us a generous contribution recently, "one belonging to a group of individuals for whom there are no national frontiers" described his contribution as being "toward helping you to the freedom to express views with which I do not agree."

If we can get such encouraging support, how much more ought we to be able to claim the constant support of those who not only agree with our views but believe that the spreading of them is a vital need in our times? I hope all our readers will keep this example always before them.

This week's contributions to the Fighting Fund amounted to £54 14 1 making the grand total £2,586 15 4.

### The Editor.

Please make all cheques, POs and money orders payable to Peace News Ltd., and crossed "a/c Payee," and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## Food for the Greeks:

### Why not for the BELGIANS?

HITHERTO it has been asserted by the British Government that it is impossible for us to allow food supplies to pass into the occupied territories for the relief of the populations, even under the most stringent control. We could not "trust the Germans"; neither could we trust the American distributors.

The following announcement, which appeared in the Manchester Guardian (Sept. 11), categorically proves the falsity of these assertions:

It is learned that arrangements have been completed, with the approval of the British Government, for the dispatch to Greece of 50,000 tons of foodstuffs and medical supplies. These supplies will be brought from Turkey by the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, and their value will be reimbursed by the American Vanderbilt Committee for Assistance to Greece.

The supplies are to be sent in the Turkish steamer Adama, which will start on its trip on September 20 from Istanbul. Representatives of the Vanderbilt Committee, the Turkish Red Crescent, and the International Red Cross will leave by the same steamer and will supervise distribution of the goods to the Greek people.

The German and Italian Governments have given formal assurances that the supplies will not be diverted to other purposes, and have guaranteed a safe passage for the ship, which will also carry parcels for British prisoners in Greece.

(Times and Manchester Guardian Service.)

## Take Heart, Mr. President

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dubuque, USA, recently broadcast an appeal to President Roosevelt, which is printed in full in the Irish Standard (Aug. 29). He recalled the President's pledge that the youth of America should not be sent to fight in foreign wars, and called upon the President to remain faithful to his pledge in spite of the tremendous pressure being brought to bear upon him. Following are extracts from the broadcast:

TAKE heart, Mr. President: free yourself of those who are evilly attempting to influence you against the majority will. In this you will most certainly have the united support and acclaim of all our people. Their immediate destinies and the destinies of millions everywhere at this moment lie in your powerfully equipped hands.

In temporarily surrendering this power, Mr. President, the people expect and have every confidence that you will use it in conformity with your pledges. Yours is indeed the opportunity of a whole era in history. The role of a peace-maker is the role of a true child of God and one appreciated by all mankind save those whose interests dictate war.

I repeat, with the great Prelate of the East, that the continuation of this senseless war truly means the end of our civilization, with complete moral, spiritual, and material collapse at the end of the long road.

No! Mr. President, this time we promise you that the opposition of our people will not be broken down. Your pledges will be kept because we will help you keep them... Our boys are staying home... May God bless and guide you in this critical hour.

## A REASONABLE AIM

IT is said that pacifists have no right to urge people to negotiate who are fighting because they see no other way to resist the evil of Nazism. The implication (and sometimes the assertion) is that the people of this country are waging the war on conscientious grounds. To make such a claim is, we believe, to attribute to the country as a whole a height of moral purpose, a degree of moral compulsion, and above all an awareness of the total situation which do not represent the true position. The very proper desire to believe the best of men does not relieve us of the duty to face the position as it is.

The conscientious acceptor of war must be fully prepared to suffer—and make others suffer—all the consequences of total war, or (and perhaps also, finally) what we would call literal death, to emphasize its reality and to distinguish it from the oratorical death to which statesmen, kings, leaders, and sometimes even ordinary people frequently declare they will fight but at which they nearly always stop short when it comes to it. We submit that the people of this country, so far from consciously accepting it, have a hopelessly inadequate idea of what is really involved in a policy of victory or death. We do not criticize them. It is probably the case with most peoples, though those who have seen most of war (and particularly of defeat in war) and those who are ahead of us in the practice of total war will naturally have a greater awareness of its meaning. But they are generally less glib about their conscientious acceptance of it. The Russians, however, by all accounts,

have a very much grimmer, if not absolute, determination to gain "victory or death."

We think of examples at each extreme of significance: on the one hand the bickering over conditions under which people are asked to wage the war at home; on the other the fact that Crete was evacuated in spite of the most categorical statement by the Premier that there was "no retreat" for either side and that it would be "defended to the death"; while the fact that compulsion is needed at almost every stage cannot be entirely explained away as merely a means to efficiency. Again, we do not criticize. More worthy of criticism is the meagreness of positive moral purpose on the part of the country as a whole, and particularly as represented in the Government, in regard to the use to which victory would be put.

But the point is that, in the absence of a conscientious acceptance of war, it is not defeatism or cowardice or morally wrong to seek to "agree with thine adversary" before thou art so far out of the way with him that the consequences even of victory will be too awful to contemplate and too barren to produce any peace worth the cost. On the contrary, it is "a reasonable aim of realistic statesmanship," to quote a Peace Pledge Union minute. In the moral sphere the alternatives are to remedy that lack of conscientious acceptance of the implications of continuing the war and the less hopeless task of preparing the people to face bravely the possible consequences of an attempt to use peaceful means of resisting evil.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY:  
EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

# Strengthening the Atlantic Front

**P**RESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S declaration that henceforward German and Italian warships enter at their peril "waters the protection of which is necessary for American defence" is a very present help to the strained naval resources of Great Britain. It adds to the British fleet the American fleet, in a strictly auxiliary capacity, and for a very limited purpose; but since the achievement of that purpose is vital to the defence of Britain, it liberates the British fleet for other purposes.

The Germans will assuredly not entirely discontinue their attacks within the defensive waters (at present undefined) which are to be patrolled by the American fleet; but they will certainly be more circumspect. The President's declaration is about as valuable a contribution to the actual defence of Britain as could be made in the present circumstances; and it is one which perhaps has behind it the bulk of American sentiment.

## The Russian Front

**B**UT the major destinies of Europe are being decided in the colossal battle between Russia and Germany. The Germans have now practically succeeded in investing Leningrad, though it is still doubtful whether the German claim is true that the one remaining railway (through Volodga to Moscow) has been cut. In the Ukraine, the admitted captures first of Tchernigov and then

of Kremenchug—an important railway junction across the Dnieper—put Kiev and more importantly the Donetz basin in serious danger.

On the other hand, both Voroshilov in the North and Timoshenko in the centre have been able to make a counter-attack of which the significance is at present uncertain. The Times (Sept. 12) is doubtful whether the Russians dispose of resources huge enough to press the counter-attacks home; and the diplomatic correspondent of the same paper (Sept. 10) smells a rat in the new tendency of German propaganda to dwell upon the difficulties of the Russian war. "Undoubtedly the Germans have difficulties, but equally clearly they are trying to make capital out of them—mainly to build up a false idea in the West."

## No Western Front?

**T**HIS false idea is, apparently, not very different from the one to which Mr. Churchill himself gave some currency in his speech in the Commons on Sept. 9, when he said that "the Soviet Union disposes of anything from 10 to 15 million soldiers for nearly all of whom they have equipment and arms." According to The Times, the situation is by no means so favourable.

Russia—with quick and determined support from Great Britain and America—can maintain a formidable fight and be one of the chief means of undoing German military power. The Russians have fought with magnificent courage and, in inflicting the heavy losses on the Germans, have lost grievously themselves in men, tanks, and fighter machines. The Germans can replace their own tanks and fighters much more quickly than the Russians can replace theirs, and they are still moving divisions from France.

The sting of that account is in the tail. According to The Times the Germans have

moved East more than 20 of the 50 divisions they had in France! If Britain is powerless or unwilling to create a diversion that would prevent the shifting of 20 German divisions from France to Russia at this crucial moment in the huge and decisive battle, it looks as though the prospect of a military victory over Germany on the continent is not seriously entertained at all. It is important to know.

## The Political Front

**W**E move in the realm of conjecture; but it is an unavoidable journey in a fascinating land. If, as The Times declares, the Germans are exaggerating their difficulties in Russia with a view to encouraging complacency and further delay in the sending of urgent military supplies to Russia, they would achieve this result only at the risk of encouraging an attack in the West. Yet at the same time they move practically half their forces from France to Russia. Even if that is interpreted simply as evidence of their confidence in their ability to hold France against any attack from Britain, it is ominous enough. But what if they have the idea that Britain has no intention, on grounds of policy, of relieving the pressure on Russia in the most valuable and decisive way?

Either the re-creation of the Western front is even now, on purely military grounds, impossible; in which case it is likely to be still more impossible in future. Or, if it is militarily possible, and yet is not done—there is cause for speculation. To leave the Russians still fighting desperately on the defensive, yet largely dependent on Britain and America for munitions of war, may be very preferable (to some minds) to giving the Russians the chance of rolling the Germans back. In the latter case, Russia is politically in the British-American pocket; in the former, quite the contrary.

## Limited Help

**C**URIOSLY enough, the New Statesman (Sept. 13) is a prey to similar misgivings.

The danger, as we see it, is chiefly that the Russians and other Europeans also may come to fear what a very few among us may actually contemplate—an abuse of economic power, and specifically of American power.

The writer is thinking, indeed, of the situation immediately after the war; and what he fears is that America and Britain may make their supplies of food to Europe in the extremity of distress conditional upon their accepting forms of government palatable to America and Britain. My own conjectures concern the more immediate situation.

It cannot be forgotten that the political principles of America and Britain and those of Russia are quite irreconcilable. The problem before Roosevelt and Churchill is to stiffen Russian resistance, without stiffening it too much: that is, without stiffening it to the point at which Russian Communism becomes dominant in Eastern Europe. I wonder whether an attempt may be made to solve the problem by restricting our help of Russia to certain essential supplies—help of a kind which it is in the power of Britain and America to regulate at will.

## A Genuine Attitude

**T**HIS policy may appear very cynical. But there is a good deal of justification for it. Britain and America are genuinely opposed to the policy of Soviet Russia. They have consistently given all the support they could to the small nations which Russia has engulfed. Take the crucial case of Finland—a small nation, exemplary in social progress and democracy, to which both America and Britain are attached by ties of real friendship. Here is a significant account of the relations between Finland and Russia, as viewed in Washington, from The Times (Sept. 10):

The Russian position, so far as it is known here (Washington) is that... if Russia loses, peace now with Finland would be worthless; but that if Russia wins she would expect much more than the "strategic" frontiers which she established in 1940. Brutally put, it might take all the influence of the United States and Britain to secure the existence of anything worth calling a Finnish State.

## Finland's Attitude

**T**O strive to secure the continued existence of Finland as an independent nation is a morally worthy aim: and Britain and America are fully justified in doing all they can to ensure that the support they give to Russia is not such as will enable her, once more, to suppress Finnish nationality. Rightly or wrongly, the Finns believe that their national existence is much less seriously threatened by Germany than by Russia. They are surely the best judges in a matter so vital to themselves. Moreover, they are convinced that Germany is going to beat Russia. These are the words of M. Tanner, the democratic Socialist Minister of Trade in Finland.

The Finnish people long for peace, but we are sure that Germany will win and Russia will lose; therefore any peace we concluded with Russia would become null and void... (Times, Sept. 15).

## A Defensible Policy

**T**HE fact is that the war, as it has now developed, has created a position of moral and political ambiguity that is intolerable; intolerable, but real. We may compare the positions of Finland and Czechoslovakia. To the national integrity of Czechoslovakia Germany is the menace, Russia the friend. Culturally and politically, these two democratic republics stand on much the same level: and it is a very high level indeed. The one grave difference is that the historical Bohemia included a very substantial minority of Sudeten Germans, whereas Finland has no such

problem. The restoration of historical Bohemia, by the Treaty of Versailles, was therefore more precarious than the re-assertion of the historical independence of Finland. Moreover, the position of Finland was, militarily, much the more defensible.

But these differences apart, morally and politically Finland and Czechoslovakia had much the same valid claims to independent existence. The only way to secure both together—short of a universal moral revolution and the complete abolition of power-politics—is by an unfriendly balance of power between Russia and Germany. If Russia dominates Eastern Europe, Finland disappears, if Germany dominates Eastern Europe, Czechoslovakia disappears. Surely, it must be admitted that there is more than a little justification for a policy which aims at creating an equipoise between Germany and Russia, with victory for neither. For myself I do not believe that such a policy is likely to succeed; but that it is a defensible policy seems plain.

## Pertinent Comments

**T**HE moral confusion and ambiguity of the war-situation to which I have referred was faithfully reflected in the recent debate in the Commons (Sept. 9) on Mr. Churchill's statement on the war-position. His own commentary upon the Atlantic Charter showed plainly that the article relating to the right of peoples to choose their own form of Government was not to be interpreted as applying to the subject peoples of the British Empire: it applied only to the European countries subjugated by Germany. (An illuminating economic commentary on this appears below). The two Conservative speakers repudiated the Charter entirely, welcoming only the 8th article which demands that Germany shall be disarmed.

On the whole, this Conservative criticism was pretty shrewd. Why, asked Mr. Strauss (MP for Norwich), was Germany not specifically mentioned? Did the 8th article mean that Japan—not less an aggressor nation—was to be disarmed? If not, why not? And the paradox to which he drew attention is very real. So far from getting on with the job of disarming Japan, the USA is busy negotiating with her. Perhaps this may be called "moral disarmament." I suggest that the same treatment might, with advantage, be applied to Germany.

## God Has Provided

**B**UT the most striking quality of the Commons debate was its lack of all sense of the reality of the European situation. Even in Mr. Lees-Smith's speech there was evident the hope that somehow Russian man-power would retrieve the situation and enable Britain to continue gracefully in the good old ways. We put two extracts from his speech together:

Suggestions have been made that we should send a land force to the Continent of Europe... But any land force sent into the occupied territory would obviously have to be on the defensive and subject to German hammering for an indefinite period of time. We do not want that kind of stagnation. It would lead to an impasse and very likely to a stalemate...

Germany has had one long-run advantage all this time, and it has been at the back of our minds; it is that, whatever we did in this country, we could not compete with Germany in actual man-power. That has been Germany's strength, but now it has been altered. Man-power is now supplied by Russia in quantities which surpass anything that Germany can provide. We must equip Russia so as to bring that man-power into the field.

The juxtaposition of those two passages makes a morally shocking impression. British troops are to be spared the German hammering; but the Russians must take it instead. God has provided.

## Economic Freedom

**T**HE Lend-Lease Bill was at least an advance in economic thinking, in that it made definite provision for repayment in goods. It is astonishing that Britain's supplies of war materials to its European allies have been on the old familiar and thoroughly obsolete basis of credits in sterling. A leader in The Times (Sept. 12) made a devastating criticism of this practice—the latest of not a few approaches in that influential paper toward realistic thinking on the economic future of Europe. Two days previously the same paper carried a careful and objective summary of an authoritative Nazi booklet, *Europas Wirtschaftsfreiheit* ("The Economic Freedom of Europe").

Heretofore Europe has been unable to take advantage of her natural opportunities. Partly (1) because her component members, instead of acting together in accordance with a well-conceived plan, have pursued destructively competitive nationalistic policies; partly (2) because of the deleterious influence of Anglo-Saxon capitalism. Economic federation would have been possible long ago had it not been for the veto imposed by Britain. If Europe were to federate, her economic position would be so strong that she could easily smash the world-wide Anglo-Saxon economic power. Knowing this, Britain has always kept Europe divided. To perpetuate this internal antagonism Britain took advantage of her world-war victory to increase the number of States in Europe and added 1,200 miles to the customs frontiers.

## Economic Potential

**T**HE author of the pamphlet is Werner Daitz, founder and president of the Society for European Economic Planning. Europe, in his economic vision, includes Great Britain in the West and European Russia in the East. That (he says) is the natural Euro-

(Continued on back page)

# Visibility Bad

**A**T Brighton recently a soldier was fined for being drunk and disorderly and assaulting a constable (OE—policeman).

His officer, testifying to good character, said, "His training lately has been of the personal combat type, and it may have come upon him suddenly."

The chairman warned him "not to give way to drink so as to lose consciousness of whom he was attacking."

The question arises: Does this advice apply to everybody, or only to those engaged in combat of the "personal" type?

Of course it's OK for infantrymen. They must be conscious of whom they are sticking a bayonet into. But what about the Air Force? Would it do for them to be too conscious of what they are dropping bombs on?

## It's So Difficult

I'm told that the difficulty about bombing is that you cannot discriminate as closely as you could wish; that when you bomb an enemy factory you cannot always avoid factory workers, or even their houses, not even those of the subject Europeans whom we are engaged in saving.

And inquiries at the Air Ministry failed to verify the story that British bombs are so constructed as to swerve aside when approaching any civilian, domestic house, or building displaying Gothic features.

Of course I know this isn't as bad as it sounds. We are repeatedly assured that these Europeans like being bombed by the RAF because they know it's for their good. I've even heard that the bombs used for this purpose are fitted with a gramophone attachment which apologizes as it comes down. It goes—"Swish! Milles pardons, messieurs-dames! Priez acceptez mes regrets les plus profonds, mais je vous assure... BONK!" So that by the time they are laid out, the inhabitants of the occupied countries are all feeling they'd rather be bombed than not and democratic unity is assured.

**A**LL the same, I'm sure it wouldn't do for all people engaged in total war to be too conscious of the objects of their attack. Observe for instance the press report of an ARP film made by members of a Marylebone first-aid post. It was entitled "Casualties" and included close-ups in colour of injuries to air-raid victims.

"So vivid is the film," says the report, "that when a party of police saw it four of them fainted. At another showing a doctor fainted... Nurses confessed it made them ill."

Now, you couldn't get anything much tougher than policemen and

by  
**OWLGLASS**

doctors, unless it's nurses. Yet we are given to understand that the survival of Civilization, Christianity, Morality, Culture, Literature, Art, the Nine Muses, the Three Graces, the Gold Standard, the Export Trade, and even Cricket absolutely depends upon the transformation of masses of European civilians into unsightly messes which make policemen and doctors faint and even nurses lose their appetites.

## It Wouldn't Do

Therefore I cannot think it would be good for the Air Force to be too conscious of whom, and how, they are attacking. To have our bomber crews fainting or feeling sick while engaged in their civilization-saving duties would seriously impair their efficiency, and our whole crusade might flop.

The same applies to other sections of the militant Totality. For example, what of the people who make the bombs? If they had before them a clear picture of what those bombs might do, and to whom, might it not affect the quality of their workmanship? Remembering how easily a bomb can miss its objective and land on a school or hospital, might they not be tempted to lay aside the packet of trinitrotol &c., and fill the thing up with liquorice all-sorts instead?

**T**HEN there are the people who lend the money to make the bombs. A news-cutting before me says, "The National Savings Group organized by the Rothwell Women's Unionist Association is making a big effort to provide funds to purchase a large general-purpose bomb which it is hoped may be dropped on Berlin."

I don't know the precise meaning of "general-purpose bomb" but I suppose it means one that drops on things in general, such as men, women, children, &c. Are these ladies also to be conscious of whom they are indirectly attacking?

Of course, the female of the species Unionist may be more deadly than the male, and they may like it. But surely there's a risk that if these ladies had to sit and watch that film of air-raid casualties before putting their pennies in the hat, they might be tempted to spend their money on a brace of stiff brandies instead.

No; there's too much risk about this consciousness. I'm sorry to have to contradict the Brighton beaks, but in my opinion awareness is no way to win a modern war.



# War-Time Peace Building

By Sydney George Conbeer

**E**VEN at this time of great stress, when, faced by terrible dangers each day, men are more ready than usual to "Let tomorrow look after itself," we who claim to be constructive peace-makers, should not flinch from stern mental discipline to obtain a clear vision of the European and world reconstruction necessary to achieve lasting peace.

No matter which side wins military victory, no matter whether a military stalemate leads to a negotiated peace, it is certain that the resulting peace, made uneasy by the cruel sufferings and hatreds which modern warfare engenders, will not last longer than the time our baby sons will take to become men, unless we are prepared to do some really hard thinking about the fundamental causes of war and how to abolish them.

If Hitler were to win, he would find it just as difficult to crush down the natural human demand for freedom in the minds of European peoples, as Great Britain found it to be in the case of Indians, Arabs, Egyptians, West Indians, and Irish. It is fairly clear that he would attempt to weaken this demand by organising a certain economic security for the workers of Europe; continental schemes for transport, industry, agriculture, motive power, and finance would replace the pre-war chaotic national schemes, and there would be jobs and physical recreation for all—the modern equivalent of the ancient "panem et circenses"—but those things which the human spirit equally demands—freedom of speech, association, worship, and conscience—would be seriously menaced.

On the other hand, if Britain were to win, it is possible that though a certain freedom of speech, worship, and conscience might be restored to European peoples, the economic conditions would be so grievous, because of the unwillingness of big-business to organize the distribution of necessities for the sake of service to humanity, rather than for private profit, that want and discontent would lead to widespread rebellion and bloodshed.

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**T**O achieve a lasting peace it will be necessary to satisfy both man's spiritual and physical needs; if either of these is left unsatisfied then future civil or international war will be almost certain.

Therefore, no matter which side, if any, becomes the military victor in the present conflict, the victory will not mean that true peace has been attained. Those who are striving to build a world-order to eliminate the possibility of war will still have plenty to do; although the kind of work will depend upon which side wins.

In Germany, Italy, and Russia the people have a certain economic security—though possibly of a low standard—but they have no democratic freedom; therefore they will sooner or later become spiritually discontented. Similarly, in the capitalist democracies the people possessed certain democratic rights, but suffered from unemployment and general economic insecurity, as a result of inefficient planning in the interests of the people as a whole; this was certain, in time, to lead to physical and mental discontent.

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**I**T is clear, therefore, that those who refuse to take any part in war would be doing the greatest service, both to their own nation and to other nations, if they could hammer out now, even in the midst of warfare, a scheme of world reconstruction, based upon democratic liberties and economic security for all.

When the conflict ends, there will certainly be terrible war-weariness throughout Europe and the world, producing both an intense feeling of hatred for those who preach that war is necessary and a powerful demand for some system to make war impossible.

If a scheme for world peace is to be acceptable, it must be so based on the common interests of mankind that it will appeal, over the heads of governments, straight to the hearts of men:

it must be such a radical reconstruction of the present world disorder, that it will capture the imagination of the world.

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**I**N my opinion this would necessitate the ending of imperialism, the granting of complete democracy to all peoples, the abolition of the capitalist system, the planning of national and international economics in the interests of all, the rejection of military and industrial conscription, the acceptance of world disarmament, the provision of a much higher minimum standard of living for all peoples, and the ending of unemployment by a fair sharing of work and leisure.

This would mean raising the school-leaving age to sixteen, lowering the age for pensions for all, better medical treatment and longer convalescent periods for workers, the introduction of the five-hour day and five-day week for industry, and a month's holiday with pay every year.

It would help also if Esperanto were

taught as an auxiliary language in all the schools of the world in order to facilitate complete international understanding.

No nation should be in a position to benefit at the expense of another nation. Raw materials and world markets must be made available for all peoples.

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**T**HE peoples of Europe, the empires, the small nations and China would surely welcome such a scheme, embracing both spiritual freedom and economic security for every man, woman, and child; and I believe that Americans, Russians, Japanese, and the rest, now they have seen what modern war really means, would be ready to help as soon as they were convinced of the sincerity of the plan.

Mankind will be ready for world planning if we think it out now, if we prepare the public mind during war, and if we are able at the first opportunity, to present our plan before the eyes of the war-sickened world.

Those who are engaged in fighting the war are too busy to do this essential work for world peace. We who claim to be constructive pacifists are called upon by suffering humanity to take up this task and produce a blueprint for peace, so that it can become widely known how to prevent such suffering ever occurring again. Let us not be too late!

## GROUP NOTES

by John Barclay

### Two Months' Progress

**T**HE sequence of Area Conferences was broken last weekend by the meeting of the National Council, which was very well-attended and gave me just the opportunity I needed to discuss and report progress informally with those from the North and West. Only eight weeks have passed since the Council decided unanimously to adopt a policy of Area Development, but in that short time a great deal has been done.

Perhaps the most encouraging feature of the last few weeks has been the willingness of individuals to co-operate in making the conference a success and their readiness to accept personal responsibility. Everyone is conscious of the need for sustained effort and aware of the difficulties involved. The difficulties can be overcome if we will cut orthodoxy to a minimum and prevent the buzzing of as many "personal bees" as possible. The work before us is full of immense possibilities. The setting up of paid organizers will be one of the first developments in many areas and this will give us renewed contact with scattered members. The conferences already held show how widespread is the desire for study and planning as well as a new recognition of the need for personal discipline.

#### FULL BACKING

Above all, we have the backing of a vigorous Council, capable and determined to think ahead with imagination—so necessary if we are to make development a success.

The engines are starting up and the good ship PPU is once more on the move—heading for new and still uncharted seas. During the next two

months every Area will have a chance to add its quota to the national effort. The future depends very largely on the use we make of this new opportunity.

#### FORTHCOMING AREA CONFERENCES

September 20—Yorkshire (Bradford)—Stuart Morris.

September 20—West Midlands (Wolverhampton)—John Barclay.

September 27—South Wales (Cardiff)—Alex Wood, John Barclay.

October 4—Scotland (Glasgow)—Stuart Morris, John Barclay.

The East Midlands Area Committee will meet on Oct. 4, not Sept. 27 as previously arranged.

#### GROUP ACTIVITIES

**Wakefield.**—This group is resuming its activities this week when the Rev. J. B. Tonkin will open the programme with a short service of fellowship. The meetings will be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Thornhill Street, and all pacifists are invited.

**October 6.**—Talk by Arthur Harrison from the Hollingthorpe Community, 7 p.m.

**October 20.**—A night on "Gandhi," with discussion, 7 p.m.

**November 3.**—A visit from Dr. Kathleen Rutherford, Chairman of the Harrogate PPU.

Full particulars of the Group's activities from Miss M. Latham, 2 Castle Avenue, Sandal.

**City Group.**—The old City Group is functioning once more and has arranged a series of meetings every Friday lunch-time (1.15-2 p.m.) in the vestry of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, at the back of the Bank of England (entrance to the vestry is at the side of the church). All pacifists are invited. Last week Roy Walker spoke on "Famine over Europe" and this week W. J. S. N. Grindlay is speaking on "A Negotiated Peace?" September 26 and October 3 Robert Mennell will speak on "The Choice before us—Christian Economics or Endless War?"

J.B.

**Weekend School.**—Owing to unavoidable circumstances, Andrew Stewart is unable to attend the Whatstandwell and District Group's school this weekend. His place will be taken by Roy Walker.

Northampton Regional News issued a special eight-page summer number for July-August, containing articles by Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rhys Davies, M.P., and Lord Ponsonby—as well as the usual excellent features. Reports from groups in this issue make stimulating reading. The bulletin costs 2d. or 1s. for a dozen copies; editor is J. M. R. Studholme, 24 High Street, Olney, Bucks.

#### SYBIL MORRISON

Miss Sybil Morrison, until recently secretary of the former Women's Section of the Peace Pledge Union, has been appointed part-time Organizing Secretary of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

She plans to build up membership, form local groups, secure publicity, and formulate campaigns on current issues. Her address is: Redcap, Greenstreet Green, near Farnborough, Kent.

## The Best Way to Peace

Everyman's Affair: A plea for a Sane Peace, by A. Ruth Fry. (Dakers 1s.) Give Christ a Chance, by "Leo." (Dakers 1s.)

**T**HESE two little books avow the same end, but their means are obviously and significantly different. Ruth Fry makes a plea for a sane peace by Quakerly action. "Leo" asks us "to give Christ a chance" and declares that "no Christian can be a pacifist in action at this juncture of history." One would advise "Leo" to read Ruth Fry.

For Ruth Fry writes as one who not only holds strongly and logically the faith of the Quaker and pacifist but as one who has had long experience as an active and practical peace maker. She knows, by what she has done and seen, that the way of military victory can but lead to yet more war. She draws her practical experience from the 1914 war and its aftermath. She has seen famine caused by war laying the seeds of that vengeance we call "Hitler." She has seen other seeds of love sown in acts of kindness nipped and sterilized by military fingers of conquest. So she calls for a peace on sane lines at once, before defeat or victory has woven its inevitable curse.

She points to the statement of Captain Liddell Hart that this "is the thirteenth war with a continental Power since the Spanish Armada. Only two have ended with a clear-cut victory and those were the two that left us most exhausted. The agreed peace of negotiation which ended the other eleven was more satisfactory than the dictated peace of 1919."

#### HISTORICAL FACT

The advocates of "no compromise" should ponder on this historical fact. "Leo" might reflect that sane peace-making and no military victory is the best way to "give Christ a chance." He might also re-read his own chapter on "The Exemplar" and his admission that "Christ's attitude toward the Roman rule of Jewry was one of acceptance." The inferences of this admission seem to have escaped its author, who says, on another page, "To fight for the preservation of the British Empire is to fight for good will among men." Is this not confusing Christ with Caesar?

Ruth Fry's book is as sane as its general plea. She affirms calmly; she supplies her references; she packs her pages with close argument. Hers is but a little book, but each of its nine chapters contains the matter of a bulky volume. At the end she gives a valuable bibliography and a short directory of peace and kindred organizations.

The two books should be read together. Ruth Fry has thought out her case from A to Z, as the daughter of a legal-minded father who was also a Quaker. "Leo," who means well, has lost himself in an emotional fog in which he mistakes Satan for Christ.

E. G. SMITH

## TRAINING SCHOOL

**T**HE PPU Executive has approved a plan for a training school on the practical work of the movement which, it is hoped, will be held at Heys Farm Guest House, near Clitheroe, in the week October 18-25.

The twenty lectures will cover Social Service, Study, Organization and Discipline, Public Speaking, and an Introduction to Non-Violence. The lecturers are expected to be Charles Dimont, Donald Port, Alan Staniland, and Roy Walker. Through the generosity of Olive and Sidney Lucas, the wardens of the Guest House, meals and accommodation will be free, and the only charge to students will be £1, in addition to travelling expenses, which will be pooled.

A full prospectus can be obtained free from Dick Sheppard House and the organizers will select eleven students from the applications, giving preference to those most active in the work of the pacifist movement in this country. All applications must be sent in by the end of this month.

Just Published

## PACIFISM IN SERVICE

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## SILENCE IS MORE ELOQUENT

THE reaction to Mr. Churchill's statement that the "Atlantic Charter" did not apply to the subject peoples of the British Empire can be imagined.

Mr. Gandhi, asked to comment on it, said that "silence was more eloquent." Mr. Srinavasa Sastri said that Mr. Churchill "is not a man to be afraid of responsibility, but even he may quail before taking it upon himself to deny 400,000,000 of the earth's population the benefits of the Atlantic Charter."

There was a short debate on Thursday, Sept. 13; the Hansard of this date should be studied by those who are watching Indian affairs. At Question time Mr. Amery stated that on July 1 12,129 people were serving sentences in connection with the civil disobedience movement—including 28 ex-Ministers and 290 members of the Provincial Legislatures.

This situation cannot be said to be "in harmony with the high conception of freedom and justice which inspired the joint declaration."

## NEWS OF C.O.s

THE position (described by the press as "muddle") arising out of the general registration for firewatching of men aged 18-60 (at least half of the first batch, registered on Sunday, including many already in "civil defence," applied for exemption forms) has already led to a suggestion that conscription may be applied to women.

At present, however, it is no more than an expression of the view of the Westminster Emergency Committee that "the Fire Prevention (Business Premises) Order should be amended so as to impose compulsory duties on female workers" and a recommendation that a deputation should be sent to the Minister of Home Security and the regional commissioners.

A pacifist who, while quite willing to do firewatching at his place of business, objects to being conscripted and ordered to do firewatching at other places in the City was sent to prison for two months, on Thursday of last week, for failing to fire-watch on two occasions. He was Ernest Alfred Whittaker, aged 22, of Mount Nod Rd., Streatham.

Further cases of sentences of imprisonment for refusal to submit to medical examination have been reported as follows:

12 months.—S. G. F. Cotterill (26), decorator, of Sports Rd., Glenfield (whose wife is secretary of the local Women's Peace Campaign); and T. R. V. Dawson (26), typewriter assembler, of Paget Rd., Leicester (secretary of the local Pacifist Esperanto League and a Peace News distributor); both at Leicester, Sept. 11 (both having been registered for non-combatant duties).

6 months.—Albert Harper (a member of Islington Methodist Peace Fellowship) and "two other fellow pacifists"; at Tottenham, Sept. 11. W. G. Jones, of Mountain Ash; on Sept. 6 (two days before, at Pontypridd police court, he was ordered to submit to examination, but after refusing was released until his second appearance in court).

## COMMENTARY

(Continued from page two)

pean economic unit, containing over one quarter of the world's population in only 9 per cent. of the world's territory. The people of this Europe consume far more per head and are by far the strongest potential centre of production. Moreover, it is practically self-sufficing. Africa, under planned development, is the natural source of supply for the few essential products for which a tropical climate is necessary. So reorganized and planned, the European economy will dominate the world.

She will need much less food and raw materials from overseas than before, but she will remain the greatest selling market in the world for the countries producing raw materials. Consequently, she will be able to dictate the terms on which she buys. What will happen to Australia if Europe refuses her wool? Or to the Argentine if she declines her beef? Or to the USA if she will have no cotton?

There is in all this, it will be noted, no suggestion that all nations in Europe other than Germany are to be reduced to the role of primary producers, which is our propaganda version of the German economic "new order" in Europe. Moreover, even if Herr Hitler's aim of including Great Britain and the whole of European Russia in the economic federation is not fully realized, the economic potential of the restricted federation would still be enormous.

## Quakers in Germany

by

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

THERE are now at least fifteen small but active groups of Quakers or Friends in the Reich, organized since 1925 in a "Yearly Meeting."

Quaker Christianity found its way into Holland and Germany from England in the seventeenth century; but the modern movement dates from the help, both material and religious, given to Germans and Austrians in the Isle of Man and other prisoners' camps during 1914-1919 and, afterwards, on the Continent by British and American members of the Society of Friends.

Since 1925 the German Quakers have possessed a monthly journal, *Der Quäker*, of a high literary quality, which has continued to circulate uninterrupted throughout the war in the Reich and beyond; avoiding carefully, as it does, all references to current political and military events, it has not been interfered with by the Nazi authorities. Articles, couched in general terms, of a definitely Christian pacifist nature (one, indeed, was a translation sent over via Holland in 1940 by the present writer) have even appeared from time to time. Copies of the June and July issues of *Der Quäker* were received here on August 18, via the Geneva Quaker Centre.

★

IN one recent issue there appeared a long account, translated from an American source, of the great work done in Europe by the American Friends Service Committee from 1917 onward, beginning in France and in Russia. (It is indeed significant that there should have been circulating in Germany in 1941 the knowledge of this healing service, particularly of its German development as described in the following extract.) The Quaker writer,\* after describing how the relief workers undertook the rebuilding of some of the villages destroyed in the French war-zone, continues:

For the work of rebuilding we borrowed from the French Government 200 German prisoners, interned nearby pending the signing of the Peace Treaty. When the work was done, we took a photograph of each prisoner, found out their home addresses and sent into Germany thirty of our American workers, who visited each home, gave each family their prisoner's photo, with news of his health and laid on the table the money he would have earned, had he been working for wages. These visits made a very deep impression and formed an excellent preparation for our next job, the feeding of the German children who were suffering desperately from the Allies' blockade of Germany, continued after the end of the war.

This feeding was begun in the spring of 1920 on the initiative of Herbert Hoover and was continued for four years. All the children were medically examined and those who had suffered most from the years of malnutrition were given good food, usually at school. Our Committee provided 40,000 Germans with occupation at the feeding centres, and for some time we were feeding daily nearly 11 million children. Herbert Hoover (afterward USA President) helped us to collect the very large sums of money required and General Allen of the American army of occupation raised three million dollars. At this time the German currency became valueless and there was a reign of confusion and despair; so this work of healing and recovery came like a breath of life and love from another world.

When the American Red Cross had finished its work in France it gave us its motor lorries. Equipped with these we joined up with English Quakers already in Vienna, where at that time sixty per cent. of the children were seriously ill with rickets (always known in Germany as the "English" disease!). Milk was unobtainable, so our helpers had 800 cows brought into the city and formed a team of milkers. Young Quakers drove their lorries into Hungary and brought coal to feed the fires at the hospitals. In Vienna we remained a long time.

The account concludes with the

Be sure to come to the Meeting-Social being held at the Large Conway Hall on Sunday, September 22nd, at 3.30-7.0 p.m. to inaugurate the Friends of Freedom Press, an association of men and women who believe that by continuing to publish WAR COMMENTARY and other literature, the Freedom Press is performing a useful function; and who wish to express their solidarity and their willingness to assist in the important task of increasing the sphere of its activities.

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story of the relief work started in 1917 by English and American Quakers in the Russian province of Samara.

★

THE Quaker child-feeding has not been forgotten in Germany. American Quakers have been allowed to travel freely both there and in most of the occupied countries and there has, we believe, been no interference with the relief work (strictly limited, owing to the British blockade) which they have tried to do for the Poles and the French.

German Quakers (also Dutch and Danish Quakers) have been allowed to work in connection with the prisoners' of war camps and have otherwise not been hampered. A striking example was reported recently.

Some American Quakers in charge of a large body of Spanish republican refugees, chiefly women and children, in occupied France near Bordeaux applied with considerable anxiety, shortly after the invasion, to the German military authorities for permission to continue their work in the camp. This was granted them at once; and the two chief Nazi officers concerned told them that they knew the Quakers could be trusted as friends, for they had both been fed by them as children during the years of famine.

\* Actually Professor Rufus M. Jones, the historian of Quakerism.

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2 C.O.s require farm work Hertfordshire area; 9 months experience; can drive; willing workers.—Box 932 Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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### MEETINGS, &c.

PEACE AIMS CONFERENCE. Barbara Wootton, Sybil Morrison; Watling Centre, Burnt Oak, Edgware; Sat. Sept. 27, 2.30 p.m.; admission free. (Edgware Women's Peace Aims Study Group.)

UNITED MEETING at Barclay Hall, Green St., Forest Gate E.7, Sat. Oct. 4 at 3.30 p.m. Mr. Geoffrey Pittcock-Buss (Editor of New Vision, Wood Green Observer, etc.) will speak on "The Atlantic Charter." All welcome.

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PACIFIST radio dealer has opening for man with some Service experience. Please give full particulars re capabilities and meters (if any)—F. S. Taieb, A.M.I.R.E., 57 High Street, Hoddesdon (Tel. Hoddesdon 3102), and Honey Lane, Hertford, Herts.

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IN RIBBLESDALE, Yorkshire. Heys Farm a Guest House founded on Quaker principles.—Wardens Sidney and Olive Lucas, W. Bradford, nr. Clitheroe.

### MISCELLANEOUS

ALL pacifists who are members of the Labour Party should communicate with Sybil Morrison, Organizing Secretary of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship, Redcap, Greenstreet Green, Farnborough, Kent.

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